## WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 13, 1854.

NOTICE TO OUR BOSTON SUBSCRIBERS. Those of our subscribers in Boston and vi cinity who have heretofore received their pa-pers from Mr. G. W. Light, are informed that hereafter they will receive them by mail hereafter they will receive them by mail. Should any subscriber fail to receive his paper,

FILES OF THE ERA FOR SALE.

As we have been printing a large supply of the Era since the commencement of the No. brasks excitement, we can furnish at very low rates, for general circulation, files of the paper from December 1, 1853, to April 1, 1854, a period of four months, containing-Goodeli's Series on the Legal Tenure

Speech of Gerrit Smith on the Korzta Cor

respondence: Speech of Mr. Gildings on the Amista

Address of the Independent Democratic Members of Congress on the Nebraska Ques-

Speeches of Messrs. Chase, Seward, Sur per, and Douglas, upon the same question ; And our Editorials upon the same question

smounting to more than one hundred columns We will supply them at 25 cents a single file, or at \$1 for five files. We doubt whether documents of so much

value, so suitable for circulation at this crisis. could be farnished at so low a cost in any oth-

AMERICAN JUBILEE .- This is the title of a new monthly Anti-Slavery paper, published by William Goodell, in the city of New York. Terms 50 cents per annum, for 12 numbers, or

Mr. Goodell is an able and a persevering man, and will make this monthly the instrument for disseminating his peculiar views in regard to the Constitution and Slavery.

#### THE HOMESTEAD BILL AND THE SOUTH.

"Under the sway of a wild and rampant Democracy, such as holds annually its frantic and disgusting revels in the halls of Congress, the public lands are disappearing like frost be-fore the morning sun-light. In fact, Agrarianready to take it to its warm embrace and hold it up to its admiring followers, us a new and beautiful addition to its political creed. Pro-

"There is one proposition connected with the disposition of the public lands, which ought to horror, and which should make the policy of pose the Latter Day Saints were as numero ated by an honest desire to promote the publie good and preserve the public morals. We public lands to idlers and vagrants at a single dash. The gross injustice, the folly, the imite parallel only among the Agrarian enormities of ancient Rome. Just look at this scheme in all its naked and hideous deformity. It proposes to confer the whole of the public domain er to settle upon and cultivate the land for the space of five years."—Richmend (Va.) Whis.

Well, Virginia is one of the last States t taka umhrage ut such a policy. Doce the Whig know that the natives of that State, living in the new States and Territories in 1850. amounted to nearly one half of her entire white population residing at home? As Virginia sends off so many of her children, she ought to be grateful for a policy which proposes to secure them comfortable and inde

As for Agrarianism, there is nothing very terrible in it, when properly understood. The policy of the Gracchi was to dispossess the large landholders and slaveholders of the publie domain of Rome, which, in violation of law they had usurped, and to restore it to the People, so as to encourage free labor, and multiply the number of small and independent cultivators. That wise and noble policy was agrarianism; and it is a recommendation to the Homestead policy, that it is founded upon the same principle and pervaded by the same regard for the rights and interests of the

# ME CLINGMAN AND STATISTICS.

Mr. Clingman, in his speech on the 4th on slave States, said the latter contained as many churches, and fewer paupers. This pauper shows that there are more churches or meeting-houses in the slave States in proportion to the population than in the free-but that fact does not show the average amount of church accommodation, or the average value of church property. Let Mr. Clingman consult the Census, and he will find that the average accommodations for worshippers are greater in the free than in the slave States, and that the aggregate value of church property in the for-New York contains church property to the acting. value of \$21,000,000, or \$2,000,000 more than the aggregate value of the church property in the fitteen slaveholding States.

It will not do for the Slavery men to provoke comparisons between the effects of free-labor and slave labor institutions.

# THE GADSDEN TREATY.

This abominable scheme is at length in ar ticulo mortis. This is the general fact. There are incidents connected with its history that will prove highly interesting when fully revealed. The following was written to the New York Inquirer on the 5th instant :

"There have been interesting proceedings on the Mexican treaty. On Monday, the Presi-dent sent in Mr. Ward's letter to Gen. Gadsden, in which Mr. Ward professed to have verbal instructions authorizing Gen. Gad-den to negotiate on the Garay and other private claims. A warm and excited debate oc between Messrs. Mason, Shields, Rusk, and Clayton. On Tuesday, General Shields moved to lay the treaty on the table. Lost-yeas 13 nays 27. A motion was then made to strike out the boundary designated in the treatycarried. Repeated propositions for other lines The People of the whole Union, or the People were then made and defeated. The test vote of the States separately? What number—the yesterday indicated only eight me jority for the treaty, which fails short of the necessary two-thirds vote. Mr. Gwin's amendment for a line touching the shead of the Gulf of California,

"To-day, a motion to reconsider the vote striking out the boundary line was made and themselves, d lost. Unless yesterday's action is reversed, the cd by them?

### NON-INTERVENTION AND POLYGAMY.

A correspondent in Philadelphia reques's as to bring the subject of Polygamy, as affected by the doctrine of Non-Intervention, to the notice of Congress. It has often been brought to the notice of that body, but it would seem that some of the members think the system a very

debases the Family Institution, and gives he will oblige us by informing us of the fact, and also of the time to which he has paid his full roin to licentiousness; but what of it? Have not the People of a Territory the right to govern themselves? to form and regulate their

Sojourners among the Mormons tell us that the state of morals with them is excellentthat the vice of fornication is unknown-that there is more corruption in New York than in Utah! Of course! Fornication in Utah is Licentiousness organized. Make crime a domestic institution, legalize a vice, and it ceases to be a vice, it ceases to be a crime, in the opinion of many People. The base exception in New York is the respectable system in Utah. A man with two wives in New York is sent to the penitertirry; if he keep a mistress, he is considered a sinner: but in Uteh, he may have a score, dignified by the Law with the title of wives, and he is a Latter Day Saint! And his purity is most exemplary, for do not his twenty wives

save him from temptation? Polygamy is a crime against human nature t deprayes the man, morally and physically: wasting in gross sensual pleasures the vitalitie of his whole being; it stam; s upon the woman the character of a slave; under it, the race deteriorates and retrogrades. Who expects to see Civilization advancing, or the Principles of Republicanism and Self-Government understood, among the polygamous nations of the East?

And yet, the wise, beneficent policy of Non-Intervention, adopted as a device for the encouragement and extension of Slavery, allows and sanctions the loathsome institution of Polygamy under the flag of our Union, and ere long we may be called upon to admit as an equal member of this Confederacy, a State whose chief distinction is a Practice, which in every other State is a Penitentiary offence!

If we mistake not, this false doctrine of Nor

Intervention will yet bring upon us fearful retribution. There is no true republicanism in polygamous Utah: no true republicanism can ism, in its foulest form, is beginning to rear its hideous front and breathe its pestilent doctrines; and modern Democracy, ever prone to pay its worship to the false and the foolish, is ligion and a social system, and with notions be built up on polygamous institutions. There of Government radically different from ours, how can we expect them to affiliate with gress, we know, is the order of the day, but us? If the antagonism now between Utah and from such progress, good Lord deliver us. trouble or inconvenience, it is because that region is so distant, its population so small, and our relations with it so insignificant. But, supa general distribution among all the States a as the People of New York, and the advance cardinal tenet in the faith of all parties actument of population and means of travel had brought them into juxtaposition with us, does any one imagine that elements, so opposite, scheme of public plunder known as the Home-scheme of public plunder known as the Home-stead bill, which proposes to make one grand, universal grab, and give away the whole of the from the Atlantic to the Pacific, between our Atlantic and Pacific States, Non-Intervention moral tendency of this measure, is altogether unequalled. There is nothing like it in the hostile, alien in religion, in morals, in manners, totally separated from the Union, by all its essential attributes and instincts.

> To Slavery we owe this policy of Non-Intervention; to this policy we owe the establish ment in United States territory of the holy Kingdom of the Latter Day Saints; and in the conflicts which at some day, not far distant, will inevitably spring up between that Kingdom and the Federal Union, the People of this country will be taught the ruinous consequences of adopting a False Principle of

But how would you have prevented the evil? By the assertion of the power of the Federal Government, representing, as it does, all the States, to govern the Territories, so that no communities should spring up in them alien in character and institutions to these States, or disqualified for association with them.

Suppose there should be such an influx of emigrants from China and Hindostan into our Western Territories as to form distinct Pagan communities; that in one, infanticide should be tolerated, as in China, and in another, the burning of widows, as in Hindostae, would you deny the Federal Government the power to prohibit such abominations? The Nicholagainst the violence of Slavery in Nebraska, and to prohibit bigamy or polygamy in Utah. But Common Sense inculcates a different docthe Nebraska Bill, comparing the free and trine-and Common Sense and Non-Intervention are as unlike as Light and Darkness. The first act of the Federal Government, on forming the Slaveholders as a martyr in their cause. humbug we exposed a few days since. A word a Territorial Government for Utah, ought to as to church accommodations. Mr. Clingman have been, the making Polygamy a Penitendoes not tell the whole truth. The Census tiary offence; and provision should have been made to enforce conformity to the Statute. If the Saints had declined to accommodate themselves to the Law, they should have been ad-

The truth is, the Principle of Non-Intervention emasculates the Federal Government; and it opens the vast Territories of the United States, not only to Slavery and Polygamy, but to Infanticide, Sutteeism, Fetichism, and any mer is about \$67,337,000, while in the latter other abominable thing that human nature in it is only \$19,000 000! The single State of its most degraded condition is capable of en-

# POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY IN THE SOUTH

Our daily political experience is a constant tribute to the doctrine of popular sovereignty. While Abolitionism derides the principle from which it has most to fear—for in nothing is the American sentiment so unanimous as its abhorrence of the precepts and examples of that fanaticism—the whole country bears wit-ness to its potent influence. Nowhere have its triumphs been more frequent and more sub-stantial than in the Southern States. In the teeth of the bitter taunts and threats of crazy zealots, we see both parties rapidly, in that part of the Union, liberalizing suffrage, popu-larizing elections, breaking up life offices, and opening wide the doors of distinction to the ambition of all. The rule of the people—the voice of the masses—the resistless power of republican principles—is nowhere more ardent-ly and gratefully acknowledged than in the South. Such a fact is invigorating, after hearing the doctrine of popular sovereignty assailed by those who affect to be for all Democratres .- Washington Union.

The Union speaks vaguely. What does it mean by "Popular Sovereignty?" The right of the People to rule themselves? What People? whole, a majority, or two-thirds? Who-the whites, or the whites and free blacks, or white tion of the "equal rights of the States." and black, bond and free ? How-directly, by lost. An amendment to take in Lower their own immediate action, or indirectly California and the larger part of Sonors, was through their representatives and agents ? I

be sustained by those who favored it, and so ed by electors. Electors are generally chosen ries, but the States themselves. strong a party can be rallied in behalf of no by the People of the States; in South Carolina, The logic of Slavery, like itself, is by the Legislature; and they cast their votes surdity.

packed Conventions of two great political or-

the appointments of the Supreme Bench? By the ratio of representation, the South is deprived of the privilege of representation for two-fifths of its black "people," (or slaves,) and in the choice of Representatives three millions of these people have no voice. Is this Popular Sovereignty?

Under the Constitution, each State, whether numbering three million, or the tenth of a million, is entitled to two Senators; in legislation. the little State of Delaware, with its ninety-one ate with New York, with its three millions. Is this Popular Sovereignty?

Sixteen States of this Union, numbering, all old, some four and a half million souls, have as much weight in the Senate as fifteen States, with an aggregate population of eighteen and a half millions—and their thirty-two Senators, representing four and a half millions, can veto any act passed through the popular branch of Congress by the Representatives of eighteen and a half millions.

Is this Popular Sovereignty? The President of the United States, cho by electors elected by some of the People of the States, in obedience to the decisions of a Convention, in which one-third of the members may have distated the candidate, has the veto power on legislation, which can be overcome only by a vote of two-thirds of the members of each branch of Congress. In other

384,000 of whom have nothing to do with the government of themselves, politically or personally; and Mississippi has 606,000 People, only 295,000 of whom rule, while 309,000, so far frem having any control over themselves, do not even own themselves. Is it thus that the resistless power of Popular Sovereignty is

eknowledged in the South? In South Carolina no person can be a Repesentative, unless he owns a settled freehold estate of 500 acres, and ten human beings, or real estate, clear of debt, worth 150 pounds sterling; no person can be a Senator, unless ne owns a freehold estate worth 300 pounds terling; and no person can be Governor, unless he owns a freehold estate worth 1,500 pounds sterling. And in Virginia there are two classes of People, numbering more than five hundred thousand people, whom the remaining eight hundred thousand are so determined to and imprisonment any one who attempts to teach them to read or write!

Behold, in the language of the Union, the narch of "Popular Sovereignty," "the resistless power of Republican principles!"

The Nebraska Bill proposes to exclude from all participation in the Government of the Territory all aliens who may settle there and inny to the People any voice in the choice of their Governor, their Secretary of State, their Judges: and to invest the Governor, appointed by the President, who himself is chosen in disregard of the principle of Popular Sovereignty, with a veto rower, stronger than any number of their representatives less than two-thirds. And the Union glorifies it, as a beautiful exhibition of Popular Sovereignty, denouncing Abolitionists, as enemies of Popular Sovereignty, because they repudiate it!

Enough illustrations of Popular Sovereignty for one day. Suppose the Union now favor the Public with a definition of this mysterious power, so constantly invoked, but which is no where so utterly repudiated and dishonored as under Slaveholding Institutions.

# "FOUAL RIGHTS."

All that we have asked is, that the Southern States shall have and exercise rights in the national domain, equal to those enjoyed by the Northern States."—Southern Exchange. You ask for what you already have. The

Southern States have now, and may exercise, rights in Nebraska equal to those enjoyed by the Northern States. The citizens of the forson Letter would, just as it denies the power of mer removing there, cannot make people work the Government to protect men and women for them, without wages, and unless they please; nor can citizens of the Northern States. The prohibition of Slavery is not confined to classes, but is universal, operating upon all alike. We are happy to be sustained in this view by Judge Douglas, who is looked upon affectionately by "Sir," said he, "I do not hold the doctrine

whiskey from being introduced into large porselves to the Law, they should have been admonished to seek elsewhere for license to gratify their peculiar tastes.

The truth is the Principle of Non-Interventions of the United States?

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The truth is the Principle of Non-Interventions of the United States? contended that the exclusion of gambling ta-bles, and the exclusion of ardent spirits, was a violation of any constitutional right or privi-

Why, sir, our laws now prevent a tavern-keeper from going into some of the Territories the United States, and taking a bar with him, and using and selling spirits there. The law also prohibits certain other descriptions of business from being carried on in the Territories. I am not, therefore, prepared to say that under the Constitution we have not the power to pass laws excluding negro Slavory from the Territories. It involves the same principle."

This is from the revised official report of a advised that he has changed his opinion. If the exclusion of Slavery from Nebraska be

South? This is a palpable denial to "slave fate. property," so called, of the usual privileges se- Let not the People be lulled into a false secumaster to his slaves is entitled to the same pro- oustrations of Northern Will. Let them make tection and favor at the hands of the Federal the Bill an issue at every election. The Ad-Government, as the right to "any other prop- ministration Party may protest as much as it bers. erty," then, to prevent him from bringing or pleases, and labor to acquit the President of Speaking of the hollowness of the presending his slaves to this District, as he would responsibility in the matter. It is all a debring or send "any other property," is a viola-

ganizations, in one of which the majority prin- braska, and hold their slaves there, but protory, and are there placed by the laws on an

equal footing. Were Utah at this moment "a Sovereign right of settling in Nebraska with their seragiics, on the ground of the equality of the States, would the slaveholders deny the power thousand people, has an equal voice in the Sen- of Congress, or the Territorial Legislature, to bigamy? If consistent, they would; for, to exclude polygamy from United States territory, while a single State recognised it as one of its institutions, would, according to the reasoning of these gentlemen, be a violation of its equal right to the public domain!

## SLAVE AND HIRELING STATES.

\* \* \* Illinois is indebted for the two thousand miles of railroad to the bounty of the Federal Government—a bounty indulged at the expense of the Southern States, whose feebleness and decay are sneered at. Every feebleness and decay are sneered at. Every foot of these roads has been made by appropriations of public lands. Not a cent has come out of the pockets of the people. And railroads are not the only favors bestowed use the Hireling States. Immense contributions have been made to them all, for schools and colleges. We dare say, if the same liberal measure had been dealt out to the slaveholding States—if bers of each branch of Congress. In other words, under the Constitution, he, one man, chosen as it often happens, by a minority of the People of the United States, has a power in legislation greater than that of 155 members in a House of 234, and than that of forty Senators in a Chamber of sixty two.

Is this Popular Sovereignty?

South Carolina contains 668,000 People, South Carolina contains 668,000 People, been dealt out to the slaveholding

What folly to venture upon assertions which can so easily be refuted by authentic statisties! Southern papers are continually mis leading their readers.

First-as to donations of public lands, the Whig assumes that they have been made to the free, and not to the slave States. This is an imputation against the Representatives of the latter of gross stupidity or carelessness. Official documents show that in this respect, as in all others, Southern Representatives have looked well to the interests of their constituents.

On the 13th of February, in compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, a statement was submitted to that body, from the Secretary of the Interior, of the number of acres of the public lands that have been granted to the land States; specifying, also, the purposes for which the grants have been made. A portion of this statement we have classified, keep in ignorance, that they punish with fine 30 as to exhibit at one view the extent to which the Western Free and Slave States have been favored by Congress in this respect.

Donations of Public Lands to-

	O., Ia., Ill., Mich., Iowa, Wisconsin. Acres.	Mo., Ala., M La, Ark., Florida. Acres.
School Lands,	5,273,749	5,520,504
Universities,	253,360	207,366
Seats of Governmen	t, 28,560	22,300
Salines,	261,045	161,230
Internal Improvemen	nt, 1,569,449	2 600,000
Roads.	251.355	-
Canals and Rivers,	4,996,873	400,000
Railroads.	2,595,053	5.788,098
Swamp Lands,	11,265,333	24,533,020
Individuals and Co.	e, 60,981	17,839
Military Services,	20,167,763	5,716,974
	46,723,391	45,167,325
Here are six nev	v slave State	s and six n

them large grants of public lands, while their sister slave States have received none!

In this connection, it would be instructive to compare these two classes of States, as it regards commerce, agriculture, manufactures, education, &c., but we have time now to attend to but one item-that of railroads. Acrailroad completed and in progress in those

Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Wississippi, Louisiana, Ar consin.
Completed, In progress.
2,913 4,955

There is no avoiding the force of such statistics. The explanation of the differences in the relative wealth, commerce, prosperity, and population, of these two classes of States is furnished in the contemptuous title prefixed by the Whig to its remarks-"Slave and Hireling that to exclude any species of property by law from any territory is a violation of any right to property. Do you not exclude banks from some of the Territories? Do you not exclude their Labor—those of the Slave States coerce theirs. Labor among the former is free, of course, some of the Territories? States." The People of the Free States hire intelligent, energetic, versatile, hopeful; among the latter, enslaved, of course, unintelligent without energy, without versatility, without

If we would avail ourselves of the forces Nature, we must obey the laws of Nature. Men can be used to most purpose, both as regards their own interests, and the interests of others, by treating them as men, not as brutes.

## THE NEBRASKA BILL AND ITS SUPPORTERS. The House of Representatives appears to be

despatching its business with more haste than usual. The object, we presume, is, to reach the Nebraska Bill, the supporters of which are determined to force it through the House, in war, they hope to see these two nations, by defiance of the indications of popular opinion speech made by Judge Douglas in 1850, in the in the free States, and of the overthrow of the Senate, on the Omnibus Bill, and we are not Administration Party in New Hampshire and Connecticut. They have gone too far to recover themselves at the North and West, by violation of the equal rights of the States, backing out, but not far enough to consolidate there are other violations which are very qui-etly acquiesced in by Southern men. What must succeed, or they are politically doomed. think they of the act of Congress of 1850, pro- If they carry the Bill, they will have the South hibiting slaves from being brought into this as a unit on the'r side, and may divide the District, from any State, for the purpose of sale, North; if they fail, the North is dead against or to be held in depot for transportation to the them, and the South will leave them to their

ception. The Bill could never have passed the Senate, had it not been for the Administration. Again: the prohibition of the foreign slave It is an Administration measure; whatever vitrade must be regarded in the same light. If tality it has, is breathed into it by the Admin-"To-day, a motion to reconsider the vote striking out the boundary line was made and lost. Unless yesterday's action is reversed, the treaty is already defeated."

The annihilation of the Gadsden boundary

The project of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President, for life, or the Territories, without violating the Administration its supporters confidently rely from the Committee of the Union. And are the Whole on the state of the Union. And are the People of the free States to support an Administration its supporters confidently rely from the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. And are the People of the free States to support an Administration its supporters confidently rely from the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. And are the People of the free States to support an Administration its supporters confidently rely from the Territories, without violating the Administration its supporters confidently rely from the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. And are the People of the free States to support an Administration its supporters confidently rely from the Territories, without violating the Administration its supporters confidently rely from the Territories, without violating the Administration its supporters confidently rely from the Territories, without violating the Administration its supporters confidently rely from the Territories, without violating the Administration its supporters confidently rely for its resurrection from the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. And are the Administration its supporters confidently rely for its resurrection from the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. And are the Administration its supporters confidently rely for its resurrection from the Committee of the States, how can it, and the Administration its supporters confidently rely for its resurrection from the Committee of the States, how can it, and the Administration its supporters confidently rely for its resurrection from the Committee of the S ministration, pledged to use all its energies to secure the passage of a Bill which they regard as a gross violation of good faith, an attempt virtually to swindle them out of the only confort the Sultan has regulted from the alliance which attacker of the most of the only confort to the Sultan has regulted from the alliance which attacker of the most of the only confort to the Sultan has regulted from the alliance which attacker of the other organizations, in the choice of can determine they are Anti-Nebraska victories. Hear Mr. Sultan has regulted by this development, which attacker of the other organizations, in the choice of can didates perfectly sound on the Nebraska Question. The fortifications and fleets were put is too, and confided in by all. Co-operation, not order for action, and were visited by the fair order of the only confort to the Sultan has regulted from the alliance.

for candidates who have been selected by the | Should Congress pass an act, authorizing the | sideration which induced them to waive their between France and England to support his | to the sneers that the Whig party was rent | hemp-growers of Missouri to remove to Ne- objection to the extension of Slavery into Missouri? They know that whatever victory the both of which always make their selections other quarter; or, should it allow the immiwith a paramount view to availability. Now, will any one be good enough to tell us how much Popular Sovereignty has had to do with Northern immigrant to hold any, it would be guilty of a wicked and wanton discrimination : was not an issue before the People, that it was but there can be no violation of the equal rights not a Democratic measure, that the Adminisof any State, so long as the citizens of all are tration was not responsible for it, had been uniallowed to immigrate into United States Terri- versally accredited by the Democracy of New Hampshire and Connecticut, and that both States had gone triumphantly for the Administration, do we not know that the result would State," and should the Mormons claim the have been relied upon by the President as an endorsement of his course, and referred to in Congress by the supporters of the Bill, as a plain indication of public opinion in favor of it? How, then, can any true Democrat, who prefers pass laws for the prohibition of polygamy or good faith, fair dealing, Freedom in Nebrasks. and the overthrow of the Slave Power, to mere Party success, desire to see the Administration triumph in any State? How can he help pray ing that everywhere disaster and defeat may baffle the conspiracy of which it is "the head

Again, we say-hold the Administration and at every election, great or small. Let there be of an "organ" and an Administration that no division among its opponents, but, without would let loose Slavery in Nebraska by the redistinction of Party, let them unite to fasten peal of the Missouri Compromise. upon this nefarious measure the brand of their

atter disapprobation. that is heard, not your protest. The vote is eign journals, but these do not say that the of Administration candidates, may say that back as far as 1844. There is no evidence they do not favor the Nebraska Bill, but their that the British ministry was implicated in rotes secure the election of-candidates, who them. In a conversation on this subject ciously forgive your protests, so long as they addedcan have your votes; allow you even to curse the Bill, while you vote for an Administration able and determined to make it a Law.

Meantime, the opponents of the Bill in the House certainly are too well acquainted with the craft and energy of its advocates, to become careless and over-confident. A change of eight votes, as we once before remarked,

would have carried the day against them. There is a rumor that a new Bill, containing substantially the provisions of the one lodged in Committee of the Whole, is to be introduced to the House at some auspicious moment, and to be carried by a coup de main. Another rumor is, that the original bill of Mr. Douglas, covertly accomplishing what the referred Bill openly provides for-the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—is to be brought forward. It is said again that the important bills now on the Calendar in advance of the House Nebraska-Kansas Bill, are to be hurried through, with little debate, and the unimportant ones laid aside, until the great measure be reached, when the Senate Bill is to be moved as an amendment. Let our friends be on their guard against ambiguous movements, against surprise, against deceptive amendments. The champions of the Bill mean the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and nothing else!

Whatever amendments or medifications they with that object; but their design will be to the House at its last session by an overwhelming vote, and would have passed the Senate free States, the former having received in had it been reported there, and called up in British Minister!" In its zeal to arouse preju- to Monopolies; Jealousy of Centralization round numbers forty-five million acres of pub- season. Let the real friends of Nebraska take dice, it completely misrepresents the facts of Maintenance of State Rights; Strict Construclie lands, the latter, forty-six millions and their stand upon this, and not be caught by vet the Whig would have us believe that the any clap-trap amendments to the repeal bill superior prosperity and enterprise of these free now in Committee. That bill is a proposition States are to be accounted for on the assump- to repeal the Missouri Compromise-Hall's tion that the Federal Government has made | bill is a proposition to form a Territorial Government for Nebraska. We go for Nebraska, and against Repeal.

# THE UNITED STATES AND THE EASTERN

There seems to be no disposition on the part of the People of this country or their Governcording to the Census of 1850, the miles of ment to depart from the policy of strict neutrality in the approaching struggle between the Western and Eastern Powers of Europe. Public opinion in the free States, and probably among the masses of the slave States, is in favor of the Sultan and against the Czar. The People generally believe that the object of the former is the aggrandizement of his empire, that of the latter, the integrity of histhat one fights for power, the other for salfpreservation. Generally, too, they approve of the determination of England and France to sustain the cause of Turkey. The People of these countries, like themselves, sympathize with the weak and the wronged, and are indignant at the aggressor; their Governments, in confronting this aggressor, yield to popular feeling, and to the force of political reasons. which concern their power and commerce. Were it not for these reasons, they would resist the popular feeling, and keep aloof from the conest; and, on the contrary, were it not for the strength of the popular feelings, the force of these reasons would hardly be strong enough to drive them into war.

In Europe, the friends of Freedom regard Russia as the rock of Despotism; England, as the asylum of Liberalism; France, as the Hope of Revolution. Their trust is, not in the Governments, but in the People, of the two West ern Powers; and, once embarked in a general the force of events, driven to countenance, if not promote, the Cause of Liberal Institutions. In view of these considerations, we see not how the People of this country can avoid wishing well to the alliance between France, England, and Turkey, and deprecating every movement in whatever quarter to cripple their resources, or excite prejudice against them in the coming conflict with Ruseian Power. And yet we find a portion of the Slavehold-

ing press already engaged in trying to enlist American sympathy for Russia, as our natural ally; while another portion, more insidiously, while professing hostility to Russian Despotism cured to property. If to exclude Slavery from rity; the Slaveholders are determined, and would arouse hostile feelings against its oppoa Territory be a violation of the equal rights their influence over their Northern allies can nents, the allied Powers. Read, for example, of the States, on the ground that the right of a be counteracted only by the most decided dem- the following extract of an editorial in "the organ " of the Administration, which probably reflects the views of certain of its leading mem-

> of the Czar, of a desire to protect the rights of Christians in Turkey, it proceeds to say-

"This pretence now stands confessed by the their own immediate action, or indirectly, trade must be regarded in the same light. If through their representatives and agents? If slaves be property in the view of the Constitution, and Congress cannot exclude such property in the view of the Constitution, and Congress cannot exclude such property in the view of the Constitution, and Congress cannot exclude such property in the view of the Constitution, and Congress cannot exclude such property in the view of the Constitution, and Congress cannot exclude such property in the view of the Constitution, and Congress cannot exclude such property in the view of the Constitution, and Congress cannot exclude such property in the view of the Constitution, and Congress cannot exclude such property in the view of the Constitution, and Congress cannot exclude such property in the view of the Constitution, and Congress cannot exclude such property in the view of the Constitution, and Congress cannot exclude such property in the view of the Constitution; without Administration influence, it is disclosure was made by way of exposing the hypocrisy of the British Government; and whilst the exposure has been the exposure has

moment that Great Britain, at least, has a selfish object in view in taking up the quarrel enterprise, which is the real prize at which Great Britain is looking, we have a powerful motive to prefer the success of the Czar. The one is our rival as a manufacturing and comnercial nation, the other comes not into comon with us. Whilst, therefore, our sympathies are with Turkey, because she is weak, and is threatened by a Government that is strong, these sympathies are not so strong that they may not be overcome when our interests are fully ascertained to be invoived by the dis-closures as to the policy and object of Great Britain. The late numbers of a "Retired Statesman" in our paper have produced a sen-Statesman" in our paper have produced a sensible influence upon the public mind in our country, whilst the late arrogant announcement of Lord Clarendon as to the objects of the English and French alliance has greatly

In this maze of words we detect friendshi for Russia, and hostility to the cause of Turkey and its allies. Henceforth, we rank the Union as a sympathizer with Russian Despotism its Party responsible-make the Bill an issue This is in perfect keeping with the character

But, the Union misrepresents the diplomacy of Great Britain. All the information on the Remember-if you vote with the Adminis- subject of the Czar's intrigues, for the dismemration Party, under protest, it is your vote berment of Russia, it has, it derives from forfor the Administration; that is recorded-not British Government gave any countenance to the protest. Twenty thousand voters in favor the proposal of Russia. These intrigues date will sustain an Administration that does favor Parliament, Lord John Russell said that the the measure; and is pledged to secure its pas- substance of the conversation held then, was sage. The Slavery Propagandists will gra- consigned, he believed to a memorandum. He

der the view of the Members of Her Majesty's Government, and therefore I wish to reserve my answer on that point.' But, as to certain confidential communication

tions which passed between the two Governments last year, he was very explicit:

"Now, it is perfectly true, that, in the course of last year, the Emporor of Russia held a confidential communication with Sir Hamilton Seymour with respect to the affair of Turkey. That communication reached this country is the shape of a dispatch from Sir Hamilton Seymour, and it was my duty, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to lay before the Cabinet a dispatch in answer to that communication, which dispatch was afterwards for warded to St. Petersburg. Some further communications took place with Lord Clarendor and Sir Hamilton Seymour. I have stated what I think is the usual practice, and what I think is the just rule on the subject, that such communications should not be laid before Parliament, because it is obvious that if they were laid before Parliament they might lead to dangerous consequences. But as the Journal St. Petersburg, permitted and authorized, no doubt, by the Government of Russia, has alluded to these confidential communications, Her Majesty's Government can no longer have any ecruple [cheers] in laying all the correspondence upon the table of the House. [Cheers.] I trust that that correspondence will show that, while we evinced every respect for the Emperor of Russia, we repelled every suggestion which would tend to the dismemberment of

mystify the People, or to give wavering Repre- correspondence of the British Government last within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Fedsentatives a pretext for supporting the bill. year, and in the absence of any evidence that the British Ministry countenanced the into Nebraska is, to give it a Territorial Govern- trigues of Russia in 1844 against Turkey, the ample and discussion; the election of officers ment; and this object is conspletely provided Union coolly speaks of the exposure of the of the Federal and State Governments, by the for in Hall's bill, as it is styled, which passed participation of the British Government in People, directly, when possible; Free Lands those intrigues, as having "been made complete by the confession of the charge by the the case, as shown by the extracts above quoted from the report of proceedings in Par-

the Union for preferring the success of Russia to that of the Allied Powers, we may have something to say hereafter.

#### THE WHIG PARTY—IS IT, OR IS IT NOT? DUTY OF FREE-SOILERS.

The action of Mr. Badger and his associa n the Senste, and the conduct of the Richmond (Va.) Whig and other Whig journals of the South, seemed for a time to have alienated Southern Whigs, as a body, from Northern Whigs to such an extent that re-union appeared impossible. But, it may be doubted whether an impassable gulf has been placed between the two sections. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that even those Southern Whig leaders who are most desperate in their advecacy of the Bill to repeal the Missouri Compremise, and contemptuous in their language to the North, refuse to affiliate with Southern Democrats, and continue their opposition to the Administration, thus evidently holding themselves ready to consider any over tures that may hereafter be made to them by their late Northern associates. Nor must we forget, that the course of John Bell in the Senate, in opposing the Nebraska Bill, has not been disapproved by the Legislature of his State, or provoked severe criticism in the colmas of the Whig Press of Tennessee: that several leading Whig papers of the Slave States, such as the Raleigh Register, the Louisville Journal, and the New Orleans Whig Press, have deprecated the attempt to repeal the Missouri Compromise; that, the National Intelligencer, the central organ of Conservative Whiggery, whether of the North or South, has labored earnestly and consistently to defeat it: that several of the Southern Whigs of the House of Representatives have already avowed their disapproval of the Bill, and, while eight of them voted against referring it to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union six voted for the motion.

These facts are not without their influence on prominent Whigs at the North. They encourage the hope that the Whig Party, organized as it has hitherto been, on what is called a National platform, may be revived, and again come into power. Hence, the strenuous efforts made in Congress to augment the Southern Whig opposition to the Bill. Hence, the disposition everywhere apparent, to cling to the Whig name, to Whig organization, to Whig candidates-and to claim victories over the Administration Party, won by Whigs, Free-Soilers, and disaffected Democrate, as Whig victories. We think we can discover a determination to reorganize the Whig Party of the shall come for another Presidential election, join forces with Whigs of the South, for the Sisyphus, as of old, rolling the stone up the hill, to see it roll down again!

In the returns, for example, from New Hampshire, we heard much of the Whig vote, little of that of the Independent Democrats; and ted efforts tell against Slavery in its presen

will secure the defeat, in most cases, of Pro cause. Looking to our own commercial interests, we might well become enlisted against the allies of Turkey. No one can doubt for a that principle into action. The Whig party Slavery or Nebraska candidates;-therefore had more to fear from the crumbling rui the Democratic party, than from any ele of discord within its own ranks.

"The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Clingman | referred yesterday, very commiser atingly, to the decay of the Whig party in the East — a party in which that gettlemen was reared, and by which he had attained his wellworn honors. The gentleman was ignorant at the time, probably, of the election news which came flashing over the wires from Connecti-

"Mr. Clingman. I had heard it. "Mr. Chandler. Then it was an unfortunate speech [Laughter] It was not the life so much as the mission of a party which ought to be considered; nor would any difference of opinion on this question prevent union on another. The party which had been led by Clay and taught by Webster had leftier aimsexpediency and nobler ends than mere selfpreservation. They were ready to declare, and act on the declaration, that the duties of life were greater than life. As for himself, and these who labored with him in the Whig cause, washing their hands of all necessity of association with those of another party, they should vote for whatever they deemed right, without regard to the effect it might have upon them as party men. If they had to fall, there would inscribed upon their graves the Spartan epitaph: 'We lie here in obedience to the com-mands of our country.'"

Now, respectable as may be the Whig and

Democratic organizations, and important as may have been some of their acts, we cannot forget that they were never instituted for the purpose of dealing with Questions of Slavery that while their Southern sections have uniformly made such Questions paramount, their Northern sections have considered them of mipor consequence, so that the policy of both of them, acting as National Parties, has always been controlled on those Questions, by the will of the Slave Power; that both of them have uniformly overlooked the inherent aggressiveness of Slavery, supposing that it could be satisfied by concessions, which in fact only provoked further demands, to be satisfied with still other concessions; that by the combined efforts of their leaders in 1850, the judgment of the North and West in favor of the Wilmet Provise was overruled, the original policy of Slavery-restriction by the Federal Government suspended, and the abominable Fugitive Slave Act passed, receiving the votes of Democratic Representatives, so called, and the sanction of a Whig President; and that both, in 1852, adopted as their platform the legislation of 1850, and pledged themselves to its support. as a finality on the Question of Slavery.

In view of all these facts, knowing as do, the nature and workings of these organizations, the force of the Principles they represent, the Prejudices they embody, the Policy which they have always pursued, we can trust neither of them on any great Question arising between the Slave Interest and the Free Interest of the country.

There is a Party of Freedom among, us by some, called the Free Soil, by others, the Free Democratic, by others, the Independent Democratic, Party. It has voters in every Free State, and in several of the Slave States, and in the most important of the Free States it holds the balance of power, has numerical force enough to decide the struggle in any case between the two old political organizations. In the face of this declaration, as to the and is thoroughly Democratic,-No Slavery for Free Men : Cheap Postage, internal and inter-oceanie; Universal Education; Opposition tion of the Constitution; a Policy steadily directed towards the ultimate removal of all restrictions on Commerce; Sympathy with the Cause of Republicanism in Europe; Liberal Laws in regard to Foreign Immigrants.

This Party is the precise opposite of the Slave Power, and it was beped by many that the flagrant attempt of this Power to annul the Missouri Compromise would produce such a disruption of old party ties, and arouse such a spirit of determined resistance to its demands, that the masses, at least of the People of the North, would be willing to rally under the banner of this Party of Freedom. Are these hopes to be fulfilled? Where are the indications? Look at the columns of the New York Evening Post, and those Democratic papers that oppose this Nebraska Bill. They are all Anti-Slavery, and her dependencies is greater than with the but not the least indication do they afford of a Party which claims Franklin Pierce as its Presidential head. Look at the New York Tribune, with its hundred and forty thousand subscribers, and at other Whig papers sympathizing with it. They are Anti-Slavery, but what evidence do they show of a willingness to give up products now consumed by all Turkey is but their connection with the Whig Party, and to sustain a grand rally in behalf of the Party of she cannot consume, under whatever domina-

Let not the Free-Soilers or Independent Democrats be deceived. In New York, some policy, she would be apt to increase her con years ago, during an Anti-Slavery excitement among the Democrats of that State, similar to that which now prevails among the Whigs, they formally merged their identity in the Democratic organization—and in less than two years after that, had the pleasure of seeing that Party swearing by the Baltimore platform, and voting for General Pierce! Had they naintained their independent existence, they might have saved a large portion of the Radical Democracy of New York from apostacy. Shall that lesson be lost upon them? Northern Whigs now appear reckless of Southern support. They have everything to gain, nothing to lose, by strenuous opposition to the Nebraska Bill. They are honest in their opposition, but clear-sighted enough to see that it furnishes ground for reorganizing the Whig party. That work is going on, and the Free-Soilers, or Independent Democrats, are invited to help them. How can they refuse? Is not the great issue the Nebraska Question, and are not the Whigs sound upon this? How can Free Soilers, devoted to Human Freedom, clamorous for a union of the friends of Freedom hesitate at uniting themselves with the Whigs Remember the lesson taught you by the Radical Democracy of New York, and by an Anti Slavery Whig Administration in 1850!

What then ? Shall there be no united ef fort? Shall the Administration and the Slave Power prevail, through our divisions? Not at North, and make the Nebraska Question sub- all. Let honest Whigs and Democrats unite serve its purposes, and then, when the time with you, in a party of Freedom. They know that you never have betrayed the cause of Human Rights, and that you will not; but you elevation to the Presidency of some "National know that the organizations with which they man," so called, not chnoxious to Slavery:- have acted, have betrayed that cause, do not understand its claims, and will, under the pres sure of the Slave Power, betray it again.

But if this be asking too much, there still a mode in which you can make your uninow we have Whig victories announced in movements. Maintain your distinct, inde-Connecticut and Rhode Island, when, in fact, pendent organization, but agree to co-operate

co-operate. Fusion will do no more, while is will inevitably result in placing Anti-Slavery men and Anti-Slavery interests at the meres of a Party, which, acting nationally, has never shown itself any more entitled to the approbation of Freemen, on the Question of Si4 very, than the Democratic Party, so called. Our Free Soil friends must take care los they find themselves carried as grist to the Whig mill; an operation, for which the New York Tribune, with all its real Anti-Slavery spirit, and its independence of party, is admirably adapted, the more so, because it acts

from a kind of constitutional instinct, rather

## RUSSIA, ENGLAND, AND THE UNITED STATES

than from cold premeditation.

"She is netuated by no regard for Turkey but she is looking to the extension of the field for her own manufacturing enterprise and capital. In that wide field for commercial on erprire, which is the real pr'ze at which Great Britain is looking, we have a powerful metive to prefer the success of the Czar. The one is our rival as a manufacturing and commercial nation, the other comes not into competition with us. Whilst, therefore, our sympathies are with Turkey, because she is weak, and is threatened by a Government that is strong, these sympathies are not so strong that they may not be overcome when our interests are fully ascertained to be involved by the disclosures as to the policy and object of Great Britain."—Washington Union.

While exposing yesterday the insidious attempt of "the organ" to arouse prejudice against England, and colist sympathy for Russia, in the approaching struggle between the Eastern and Western Powers of Europe we promised to notice the commercial reasons signed, for preferring the success of Russia to that of England, Franco, and Turkey. These reasons, such as they are, are stated in the extract quoted above, there is so little in them that it is difficult to make them the subject of an argument.

If the Czar succeed, he will take persuanest oscession of the Principalities, acquire a protectorate over Turkey, be supreme in Central Europe, and probably be able to embarrase the commerce of Great Britain with the East Indies. What are we to gain from all this The commercial policy of Russia is not so lib. eral as that of England. It produces little that we want, wants little that we produce Were she in possession of Constantinople. would be as unimportant to us, as it is now

If the allied Powers succeed, the independ ence of Turkey is preserved. England may obtain additional facilities of commerce. larger market for her products, but her settled policy now is Free Trade; and wherever her nfluence extends, it is felt in favor of Free Trade-than which nothing can be more advantageous to us, in a commercial point of

Competition in trade, manufactures and the arts, between nations, with great resources for all these forms of enterprise, and resembling one another in energy, tact, and intelligence, is their appropriate stimulant, quickening their enterprise, and developing their resources. Under its energizing influences, the mightiest results are produced.

Great Britain and the United States are competitors, but at the same time they are complements to each other. We supply her else; she supplies us with what we need, and can obtain nowhere else on so favorable terms Hence, while rivals in commerce, and to a certain extent in manufactures, we are dependent upon one another, more than any other two nations. From this it follows, that the expansion of the resources and power of the one is a

positive benefit to the other. To talk of Russia being a natural ally of the United States, and England our natural enemy, is sheer madness. Look at this table, which any one may verify by examining the yearly tables of our exports and imports:

Russia. Great Britain and Exports of Domestic products - 1,060,748
Exports of Foreiga
products - 138,732

Total - - \$2,782,120 The sum total of our commerce yearly with Great Britain and her dependencies, nearly \$234 000,000; with Russia, not quite \$3 000,000 And in our petty trade with Russia, she takes less of us than we take from her, while in our magnificent commerce with Great Britain, she receives from us \$32,000,000 more than we buy of her. In fact, our trade with Great Britsin whole world beside, and she buys from us willingness to forego their connection with a nearly four-sixths of all our exports of domestic products!

Suppose, then, in the vicissitudes of a war in the East, England should come into posses sion of Egypt, what commercial interest of curs would suffer? The sum total of our domestic two hundred and twenty-five thousand. Less tion she may fall; but under the protectorate of a Power like England, with her Free Trade

But the key to the preferences of "the organ," we presume, is to be found in its predilection for Cuba. It hates England because she is the ally of Spain, and it supposes her influence to be the chief obstacle to the acquisition of Cuba. It would prefer the success of the Czar and the preservation of English power, so that the project of annexation might be ventured upon with impunity. In other words, it would rejoice to see that nation, which buys from us nearly two thirds of all our domestic products, whose commerce is of more value to us than that we carry on with all the world. which is the best customer for the cotton of the South and the breadstuffs and animal products of the West, utterly prostrated by Russian Power, in a war, too, waged by that Power for its own aggrandizement, by the dismemberment of an unoffending State; and all this so that this Government might obtain a few thonsand square miles more of Slave Territory

This is Pro-Slavery statesmanship!

THE LITTLE PILGRIM, for April is eccived. It is a beautiful, most attractive little nonthly paper for young persons. Grace Greenwood and Leander K. Lippincott, Philadelphia, are the editors. Price fifty cents year. Hugh Cameron, 7th street and Louisiana avenue, is the agent for Washington.

# Accounts brought by the barque Charles E

Lex, from Port au Prince, at Philadelphia yesterday, state that on the 5th ultime a French frigate, brig, and steamer, anchored off the harbor, and Admiral Duchesne demanded as audience with the Emperor, which was re-fused. He then sept a letter containing most exorbitant demands, and threatening, if they were not complied with, to resort to the most extreme measures within forty-eight hours.
On the night of the 9th, the Emperor gave his final answer, that, rather than submit, the Haytien Government would cease to exist. The declaration had a good effect; for next moreing the French frigate hoisted the Haytien flag and saluted it. During the critical period, the Emperor acted with readers and determine